97-84153-10

Radix

Socialism and education

Melbourne

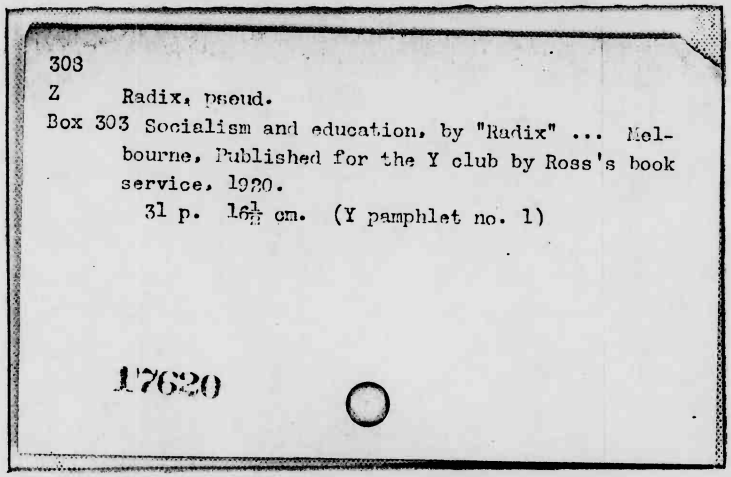
1920

97-84153-10
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

# BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD


303
Z Radix, pseud.
Box 303 Socialism and education, by "Radix" ... Melbourne, Published for the Y club by Ross's book service, 1920.
31 p. 16½ cm. (Y pamphlet no. 1)

17620

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: *Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.*

## TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 9:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

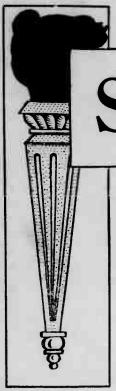
DATE FILMED: 8-5-97 INITIALS: RB

TRACKING # : 26253

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

Box 303

SI SAPIS SIS APIS



Y PAMPHLET—No. 1.

# Socialism and Education

308
Z
Box 303

By "RADIX"
Author of "Ability and Labor."

**Price - SIXPENCE.**

Melbourne:
Published for the Y Club
by
ROSS'S BOOK SERVICE.
1920

# Socialism and Education.

By "RADIX."
Author of "Ability and Labor."

PRICE - SIXPENCE.

Melbourne:
Published for the Y Club by Ross's Book Service.
1920

*Wholly set up and printed in Australia by Fraser & Jenkinson, 343 5 Queen St., Melb.*

JUST OUT! STIFF COVER 1/2 [Posted]

**Revolution in Russia and Australia**

By R. S. ROSS.

*A Constructive Criticism.*

CONTENTS:

Introduction.—The Soviet System or Ours —Just What is the Soviet System. —Economic Organisation in the Soviet Republic.—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.—The Case Against Dictatorship.—Australian and Proletarian Dictatorship.—The Road to Power: in Australia.—How It Can Be Done.

ORDER YOUR COPY

—— Before It's Out of Print ——

Dec. 6, 1930 DA/Hec

# FOREWORD.

The Y Club came into existence to fill a want very generally felt in the Socialist movement for fellowship, for mutual advancement, for fraternal association, and the dozen and one things that flow from harmonious gatherings of earnest men. Its spirit is fellowship and mutual service; its outlook socialistic, its aim the furtherance of humanity's cause —Socialism.

It is proposed from time to time to publish, from the pens of its members, pamphlets dealing with matters relating to the Labor movement, and more particularly to such matters in their relation to Australian conditions.

The club has no political or industrial ambitions. Its contact with the world will be purely propagandist. It is sympathetic with existing Socialistic and Labor organisations, and seeks only to lend its best efforts in mutual co-operation with them.

It has been a reproach against the Labor movement that too many were talking and too few thinking. It is in an earnest endeavor to answer that reproach that the club under-

takes its studies and publishes its results.

Pamphlet No. 1 is from the pen of "Radix," already well and favorably known to readers of Socialistic literature, so that no commendation is necessary.

No attempt is being made to lay down a series of connected and related pamphlets. Only those will be published which it is felt will be of immediate helpfulness. The present pamphlet fulfils to a remarkable degree these characteristics, and is in many respects a unique contribution to the literature of Socialism. It is a foretaste of others to come, and it is hoped that the high standard here set will be a feature of pamphlets bearing the symbol of the Y's.

A. W. FOSTER.



# Socialism and Education

The object of the following pages is to indicate briefly the changes in Educational purpose and outlook which Socialism involves. With the "internal" principles of Education, that is, with educational theory, we have nothing to do. Our aim is to suggest the influence which Socialist philosophy and the triumph of Socialism will likely have on Education as a whole. Every suggestion is put forward with the clear consciousness that finality in regard to the future is impossible, but also in the hope that we may reassure those who reject Socialism because they fear that its triumph spells the overthrow of every form of culture. Rather will it, as we hope to show in what follows, increase culture by its widest possible extension and the general uplift of the masses. The Educational policy of Australia to-day is one of expediency only. The problem of Education as a whole is seldom considered in relation to Society as a whole, and a comprehensive and adequate theory and practice worked out from that basis. These Socialism does, and in the following pages a few of the inevitable changes are broadly outlined.

## PHYSICAL BASIS OF MIND.

Man is primarily a physical organism. On this physical basis only can his higher

(mental) powers develop. His physical well-being ought therefore be the primary consideration with all who have his improvement at heart. Before Society or the State concerns itself about the minds of its children it should be assured that their bodies are fully provided for. We might even go further and say that it is cruelty to force Education on children whose stomachs are crying out for food, and whose physical and nervous energies are at a minimum for lack of adequate sustenance, rest and warmth. Yet this illogical cruelty is rampant under Capitalism, because capitalism needs (more or less) educated laborers. If concern for the children and their future welfare lay at the root of modern National Education, the State's first business would be to secure for all strong and healthy bodies as the basis for fully developed minds. Adequate food, clothing and shelter would precede adequate reading, writing and arithmetic. But there is a very strong economic reason why these will never be conceded to the little ones under Capitalism. It is this. Were parents assured that, as school attendants, their children would have even adequate food, they would be free to adopt a much stronger and more independent attitude in the class struggle. It is anxiety for the little ones that breaks many a strike and compels sullen acquiescence in unjust settlements. It is this same anxiety that suppresses many a protest against tyranny and oppression. The defence of the master-class,—the chivalrous and heroic plutocracy —is, in reality, based on the starvation of



women and children. The first reform, therefore, the Socialist would demand in Education is State care for the physical welfare of children by the provision of free meals and free clothing. This reform serves two purposes. It makes for more effective mental education and at the same time strengthens the workers in their fight for economic freedom. Food and clothing are due to children no matter what their parents may be. We Socialists reject the barbarous injustice of "Christian" Capitalism that would visit the sins of the fathers on the children even unto the last generation. We challenge our opponents to bring forward one argument for free intellectual education by the State that does not even more strongly justify free meals and clothing. There is no rational basis for the one any more than for the other. But there is an economic basis in the self-interest of the capitalists, and that basis we have just exposed. This, then, is our fundamental "physical" educational reform —Free Meals and Free Clothing.

## THE HYGIENE FACTOR.

Next we would demand Free Medical and Dental attention to scholars. These follow naturally from what we have already said. The doctor or doctors appointed to the care of a particular school might well determine what scholars are, and what are not, fitted to receive normal instruction, the defectives being educated separately by special teachers. These officers might also furnish periodically statistics of sickness, physique, etc., of all children, alike to the State and to the parents. By them also the children

might be taught useful elementary truths concerning the body and its functions, e.g., cleanliness, first aid, temperance, etc. Needless to say these Medical and Dental officers shall be servants of the people only and not private practitioners, nor prospective private practitioners gaining experience at the expense of the unfortunate children. We would insist on the free supply of books, paper, etc. In fact, of all school requisites. Education must be FREE in the full sense of the term, especially if it is to be compulsory. The buildings must be of the best and healthiest. Gardens should certainly be, and swimming baths might well be, adjuncts of every school. The care of the gardens (and perhaps also of the school itself) should devolve on the children. We must aim to get them thoroughly interested in the school—to look upon it as theirs to be kept clean and beautified whenever possible. Let us make them view it as a city of which they are the citizens rather than (as to-day) as a prison from which they long to escape. Next; the schools which are for mental education during the day should be equipped for re creation and physical exercise at night. There we should hold our picture shows, concerts, socials, etc. Let us make the school in every way a Hall of pleasure as well as of learning for the children. Some effort should be made to link the home and school more closely. Means must be devised to arouse the parents' interest in the school, and also the teachers in the home. This is not a characteristically Socialist reform, but we think only Socialism, by



increasing the leisure of parents and reducing the number of pupils per teacher, will make it possible in any really useful degree.

## THE THREE FUNCTIONS.

Purely physical considerations apart, man is a thinking, feeling and willing being. The issue of each of these functions respectively is:—

(1) Science or organised knowledge.
(2) Art and literature.
(3) Conduct.

Education is therefore threefold.

(1) Training in the use of those faculties or capacities which are subservient to the acquisition of knowledge and the discovery of **Truth.**
(2) Training in the self-expression of the emotions which the contemplation of Truth (or Reality, the raw material of Truth) produces in us, and of the visions it suggests to the fancy or imagination: —**Creative Art.**
(3) Training in the due satisfaction and restraint of the appetites and passions and the inculcation of an ideal to guide our conduct:— **Moral training how to live.**

Education is the deliberate and conscious transmission of the social heritage in each sphere to the individual.

## THE INTELLECT.

Taking first Intellectual Education—the intellect is not a kind of vessel to be filled with as many of the finished products of

thought as it can hold. Rather must it be viewed as a kind of workshop for the manufacture of such products itself. Thought is a form of work. Experiences are the raw materials. Language the instrument. Scientific truths the products (conclusions.) The true function of the teacher is that of guiding the exercise and development of the intellect, helping and encouraging it to the self-acquisition, or better, the re-discovery of old knowledge and the scientific research for new truth; at the same time selecting or restricting the experiences (the raw materials) out of which—and suggesting the instruments (words, etc) by means of which—such knowledge and truths may be discovered. And all this should be done so that, as far as possible, Education shall be a normal and pleasurable exercise of the faculties. It will be rather a training **How** to think than a telling **What** to think. It is instructive to notice how, in all spheres, the aspirations of educationalists to this right ideal are thwarted by Capitalism and its requirements.

## EVILS TO AVOID.

Where on the one hand, there exists (in the educand or his guardians) the desire to get out into the world as soon as possible to "make a living," and, on the other hand, in teachers, to obtain good examination results, Education becomes a mere huge and hurried cram, an overtaxing of memory, with a jumble of undigested and indigestible facts which leads ultimately, in most cases, to hopeless intellectual



dyspepsia. Memory becomes ruined by overwork—the reflective faculties by desuetude. Education is wholly subordinated to money-making. Individuality is suppressed by the pressure of economic individualism. Socialism will change all this. Instead of living being subordinated to making a living, making a living will be subordinated to living, and while undoubtedly Education will prepare men for making a living, this will be but a small purpose compared with that of preparing them for living. Socialism demands **from** each individual due social service. It demands **for** him increased and ever increasing opportunity for self-determination; freedom, creation and recreation. Any true system of education must therefore satisfy two fundamental conditions.

(1) It must prepare the individual to perform some socially useful service—in the capitalist jargon —"to make a living."

(2) It must fit him for the right use of leisure both for himself and for society. In brief, it must fit him **to live.**

In the first, technical or vocational education, individuals subserve social interests, Education would aim to discover and develop the natural aptitudes in the social interest. In the second, or, as we term it to-day, Liberal Education, social interests will subserve the individual. Society repays, or rather prepays its debt to the individual by developing his capacities for enjoyment in a multitude of spheres.

## WHAT SOCIALISM WILL DO.

The mere bread and butter question settled—and it can only be satisfactorily settled by Socialism — the aim of Education will be to turn out full men, whole men, men whose intellects will be more or less at ease in every sphere of thought and speculation. Just as in commodity production Capitalism has degraded men into mere "hands"—mere fractions of men, so our educational aim and result have been to produce mere specialists—mere mental fractions of men; functioning with the nicety and precision of automatic mechanism in their own narrow little spheres; ludicrously awkward and futile in every other. "Minds have been bartered for aptitudes."

Socialism may well call a halt to organise and select the knowledge already in hand, making it available for all; so that nature and life, consciousness and Society, may be seen and known as an evolving whole. A new generation equipped with a general knowledge of all the sciences and their inter-relations would rapidly fill up the many lacunæ now apparent in knowledge, and discover many socially needful and helpful unknown truths. The specialists are at once the product and condition of Capitalism. Socialism will not require them. It will require men. To this end then of producing full men Socialism will:—

(1) Increase the school leaving age, making exit from the schoolroom synchronise with entrance into citizenship. To-day education



ceases just as thinking begins. Nor would the transition be sudden as it is to-day when callous and heartless economic necessity snatches the young child from the playground to blast and wither all that is best in it in the sordid and dehumanising atmosphere of the factory or warehouse. Schooling would be (say) from seven to seventeen. The transition period from (say) seventeen to twenty-one—social service to the individual diminishing, social service by the individual beginning.

(2) Eliminate examinations and perhaps prizes; instituting instead some form of schoolroom democracy in association with the teacher to determine worth and capacity. Prizes are anti-social and some democratically awarded honors in the class-room might well replace them. Democracy in the school would be an excellent training ground for the greater social democratic heritage to be afterwards enjoyed.

## EXAMINATIONS.

Examinations are universally condemned and just as universally insisted on. No one seems to have been able to devise a substitute. The present writer believes that intellectual culture might, with advantage, be dealt with in somewhat the same manner as physical. Institute intellectual competitions in which teams selected from the various

schools shall compete, co-operatively, just as in cricket, football, rowing, etc. Children are naturally social beings, and it is doubtless the unnatural and accentuated isolation of the examination room that disconcerts, and fails many who in ordinary circumstances are quite equal to their tasks. The method of selecting the teams is an unimportant detail that could be easily overcome, and the endeavor to get into the school team would be as keen a stimulus to study as any that exists to-day. But the principle of co-operation in dealing with the various problems set for solution by the competing teams is most important. It would repress the egoistic and individualistic, and draw forth the social instincts. In this way it would be quite in accord with Socialist ideals. It would be a beginning in that co-operative pursuit of Truth and search for knowledge, which we hope will occupy much of the leisure of their lives just as the co-operative pursuit of wealth is the objective of their working time.

## LEVELLING UP IN EDUCATION.

(3) Instead of offering the best advantages of Education to those whom nature has blessed with the greatest gifts, a society in which brotherhood was the bond would aim to compensate natural defects by all the outside help possible. The principles that to-day govern the family would, under Socialism, govern society. Scholarships, if offered at all, would be awarded to the dullards who most needed them. To-day innumerable sons of wealthy parents



are, to all intents and purposes, treated in this manner. They are permitted to compensate their inherent dullness by an undue extension of their school life. Their parents' riches alone make this possible, and are, for this purpose, well used. Just as private wealth to-day is at the service of the relatively defective children of its owners, so under Socialism will the social wealth be at the service of those who most need it. If civilisation had not so depraved and dehumanised us, mental or physical deformity, or even deficiency, in any of our fellows would be intolerable—much less desirable. Yet modern Education, by virtue of its prize system, aims to accentuate inequalities; on the one hand so that the ruling class may have serfs at call to do its dirty work, and on the other hand so that the best brains of the workers (for they only need prizes, scholarships, etc.), may be separated from their class and secured for the service of the masters. Under Socialism Education will diligently seek to eliminate inequalities, though developing differences (which are too frequently confused with inequalities) for social purposes.

## CLASSICAL STUDIES.

(4) Socialism would encourage study of the classics which aid the individual to live in another world and another age. Modern objections thereto are disgustingly sordid and bourgeois.

## VERACITY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

(5) In all grades of Education to-day, the chief danger, from the workers' point of

view, is the perversion of social science in the interests of capitalism. In the past when the church was the chief psychological instrument of economic oppression, it was principally natural science that was twisted to suit the interests of the rulers. The immediate function of Socialism in this sphere we hold to be the countering by persistent propaganda of the official educational lies which the children are taught as history and economics at school and university, by which the glorification and justification of Imperialistic predatory capitalism are implanted in the minds of the young before they have been trained to weigh and sift evidence. In this connection, our Victorian school paper must be condemned as one of the most blighting influences in our midst. A receptacle, apparently, for all the ill-conceived and ill-written twaddle and cant that Jingo patriotism and servile flunkeyism can inspire, it is doing more than any other single influence to twist the sentiments of the little ones by its perversions of Truth, its degraded ideals, and many other ugly features. Let us endeavor to bring pressure to bear on our Education Department to publish only literature and natural science in this paper, for they cannot be trusted to fairly present social truths. The whole trouble is due to the fact that our Educational establishments are supported mainly by the rich (their endowments and taxes), who, paying the piper, naturally elect to call the tune in their own, disguised as their beloved country's, interests. Socialism will secure for social science complete freedom of enquiry,



research, and which is just as important, of speech. This will make for an ultimate unity in belief, for it is just as natural to believe alike as to see alike. And unity in belief makes for unity, and thence excellence, in aspiration and art. Just as capitalistic anarchy and competition in production make for chaos and incoherence in economics, which are reflected in science, art and literature, so the planful co-operation of Socialism in economics will manifest itself in a unity of purpose and achievement in the related ideological spheres.

## LABOR COLLEGES.

We must realise that a master-class will NOT teach the Truth (in History and Economics) to a subject class—is, in fact, owing to its position and outlook, incapable of apprehending, much less of imparting, the truth in those sciences.

The immediate aim of proletarian Education should be to make the workers fully and clearly understand the situation in which they are placed: physically in relation to the universe; socially in relation to their fellows, particularly their exploiters the capitalists. In brief, to make them INTELLIGENTLY CLASS - CONSCIOUS. Such education is just what the masters cannot afford to impart, even were they large-minded enough to apprehend it themselves. Just as Socialism is based on the class struggle, so the education aimed at while that struggle lasts must

be based on a definite recognition of its existence, and directed to its understanding and justification. Intellectually, Socialist education must instil a clear concept of the historic and economic significance of the class struggle; morally it must convert the economic fact into a moral impulse. Socialist education in the social sciences must, in the very nature of the case, be also propaganda. So long as the propaganda is progressive, and not reactionary, this involves no negation of the scientific spirit. Nor is the appeal to the selfish interests of the workers any negation of morality and idealism, for workingclass interests, social idealism and social progress are here in full accord.

But in being propaganda Socialist education does not differ at all from other—and especially capitalist —education. All history and economics are written from a class standpoint, and are, therefore, partisan and propagandist—it could not be otherwise without involving the absurdity of class suicide. No other economics and history are so entirely objective, and therefore scientific, as Socialist. Yet even they are partisan; they put a moral accent on their scientific statements; their truths vibrate with love or pity, with anger or scorn; their closest trains of reasoning have all the glow and warmth and enthusiasm of an epic; their pre-



dictions of the future are joyous with hope and lively with expectation. But unlike all previous social sciences, that of Socialism looks beyond the horizon of the class it befriends into a future classless society, which is the final test and justification for the feelings of approbation which go hand in hand with scientific analysis, argument and exposition.

With these facts in mind it is obvious that Socialism must here and now supply its own educational needs in these subjects. Just as much as it requires its own press and platform does it require its own schools and colleges for education of a specific kind that will never be forthcoming from the educational institutions of our masters.

The workers must view with suspicion all educational movements allegedly for their benefit emanating from capitalist centres of thought, Universities, Churches, etc. These movements have just a sufficient leaven of radicalism to mislead the masses and sidetrack really vital educational activities. They tend to tone down the class struggle and weaken the aggressiveness of the workers by preaching community of interest between capitalists and laborers. They stifle discontent, the first condition of progress, by glossing over and excusing the oppression and injustices of modern capitalism. They stand for reform rather than

revolution, and aim at saving society without injuring the capitalists. The slightest symptom of their becoming true workingclass guides brings the strong arm of vested interests against them. Witness Principal Hird's compulsory resignation from "Ruskin" College. No! the workers must establish and control their own educational institutions; at least in social sciences. Here we have the Victorian Labor College, controlled by affiliated trades unions, and similar workingclass colleges in other States. We most earnestly urge all workers to get into touch with these institutions, where the truth in history and economics is being proclaimed in the interests of the workers themselves. We urge them to join as individuals, and, if possible, to persuade their trades unions to affiliate; for these Colleges, in conjunction with the Socialist press and platform, are to-day the real light of the world. Darkening of counsel, and perversion or suppression of truth, characterise even the best-intentioned efforts emanating from sources controlled by our oppressors —and of these our last word is: Beware!

INDEPENDENCE.

(6) As Socialistic thought gains the ascendancy, the child will become more and more independent of the family. To-day he is mostly only an economic asset to his parents, whose stress of circumstances com-



pels them to sacrifice his education to their necessities. Education is more important to society than to parents, for the latter often die before their children mature.

TEACHERS.

(7) Education is an art and science needing trained men. Therefore, we must elevate the position of teachers, and, to secure better attention to each pupil, increase their numbers. To-day teaching is for the most part merely a side line for women until marriage. Under Socialism it would be the serious life work of teachers, who would probably be organised into a National Guild or Union, one section for research work, having access to the expensive scientific apparatus, etc., which will be owned by the people, but controlled by the research section of the Guild; another section devoted to inculcation of knowledge—Education in the usual sense of the term. These two sections would dovetail into each other.

(8) The chief aim of the teachers will be to discover the natural aptitudes of pupils, developing these, as previously remarked, for social service, and aiming at equality in diversity. Fitness for social service means fitness for a co-operative struggle to master nature, and not, as now, a sordid and selfish "struggle for life." The general education of man will facilitate change of occupation which is impossible to-day when so many square pegs are compelled to go down to their graves in round holes. Examinations are a test of the intake of old know-

ledge, rather than of the output of new, of absorption rather than of creation.

Educational improvement is chiefly necessary because Socialism is coming. As society assimilates, it must elevate the masses.

## EDUCATION AND THE HIGHER ARTS.

One of the chief reasons for improvement in intellectual Education is that science (in the widest sense) thus free and full of life and activity, presents its facts and conclusions to Art as its raw materials. In themselves the formulæ and reasonings of science are dull, cold and lifeless. But the magic touch of Art galvanises them into life and beauty—enriches and ennobles them with a new glow and warmth. A sound science is the prime condition of a noble Art. The contemplation of Nature, or Art, or Mankind, especially with the understanding and seeing eyes of science, and always provided the view is not foreshortened and narrowed by specialisation, stirs the depths of our being, rousing feelings of beauty and wonder, suggesting harmonies, likenesses and unities, rousing slumbering passions, stirring fancy and imagination, each and all of which tend to break forth in symphonies, landscapes, lyrics, epics or whatnot. Thus, concurrently with the intellectual development and equipment, feelings and visions arise within us which we seek to express in some form of Art or Literature. And the deeper the depths of insight the higher and nobler the flights of Fancy. Education must therefore encourage and direct the contemplation and experience



of Nature and Life of man. It must train in the expression and interpretation of the various feelings, fancies, visions which well up within us as a result of such contemplation or experience. Here again our Education has failed. First in neglecting a wide scientific basis for Art and Artists. Secondly in encouraging specialisation in art as in science and economics, thus narrowing alike the theme, the motive, and their expression. Thirdly in failing to provide an appropriate and critical audience for the specialists by a general Art culture. Capitalism is too busy grubbing for gold to raise its sordid face to the stars, much less to permit its wage slaves to do so. This phase of education Socialism will revolutionise, endeavouring to make every citizen in some degree, not only a Scientist, but also an Artist. This does not mean that he will be taught to paint and sing and poetise mechanically and according to rule. The foundations of all true art are the seeing eye and the understanding heart, and these Socialism will endeavor to cultivate in all. Both Creative Art and Art appreciation will thereby develop. In the transition stage the only worthy Art and Literature from our point of view are militant and revolutionary; inspiring and accelerating the Socialist movement. Socialism triumphant, however, there will naturally recur much greater scope for individuality and its expression in Art, especially as it will then be spontaneous, and not dictated by demands of the market and bourgeois interests, as at present.* Under this caption comes Technical training for the necessary economic ac-

tivities—chiefly training in the use of the hand. There, also, generality rather than speciality would be aimed at, though not, of course, to the same degree. Art is essentially social. It is in part an attempt to tell our fellows what we feel or see. The medium used, whether words or music or pictures, is language. It will be the aim, then, of Socialism to make every citizen proficient in the use of at least one of these media, while aiming at educating him to understand, interpret and appreciate, though not, perhaps, to use the others. It is scarcely necessary to add that though Socialist Education will aim at fully rounded and developed manhood, yet if individuals determine on specialisation, the Socialist Educational institutions will in no way hinder them, though public opinion may display small regard for fractional human beings, such as most of us are to-day, and may thus indirectly discourage specialisation.

## IN REGARD TO MORALS.

Finally we come to Moral Education. Just as to-day intellectual Education instructs in what is to be believed, so Moral Education consists for the most part in instructions what to do and what not to do—commandments, rules, orders, the supreme moral virtue of the young being obedience. The modern intellectual ideal is the inculcation of Dogma; the modern moral ideal the imposition of Discipline. The cleverest is he who can hold the most knowledge, the best he who is most readily obedient. Dogma and



Discipline! What admirable instruments for the production of bigotry and servility.

Briefly stated, the chief function of moral education is not that of framing rules and laws but rather of providing motives and deterrents, and most important of all, that of holding up a lofty moral ideal as the supreme motive and test of Right. The social treatment of immorality involves the discussion of Crime and Punishment. The chief change Socialism would produce in this sphere would be the elimination of the barbarous and vengeance elements in punishment and the recognition that it ought to be an instrument of education and improvement for the "criminal." But with the ascendancy of Socialism, the production of "criminals" will decrease, for Crime is a product of capitalism, or more accurately, of private property, whereof capitalism is the most anti-social form.

Moral Education is imparted in three spheres—the Home, the School, the World. It is outside our purpose in this paper to deal with the technicalities of moral education in the former two spheres. We can well leave the determination of how to impart moral instruction to the Educational theorists, who are moving quickly to right methods. Merely a word or two in regard to punishments. In the home the punishment for a fault must, as nearly as possible, be the natural reaction thereto, and no mere arbitary infliction of suffering. The ideal must not be, as it is with so many, obedience, loyalty, respect, servility, but rather a child freely and righteously self-expressive, readily honoring Truth, Free-

dom, Self-sacrifice and personal worth. In the school we should work towards the ideal of democratic self-discipline. Encourage the children to make their own laws and prescribe their own punishments. Much more might be said on Moral Education in Home and School did space permit, but from the Socialist point of view the most important moral consideration is the moral ideal, which has its roots not in the individual, nor in the family, nor in the school, but in the social (economic) sphere, and which reacts on and modifies moral concepts and conduct in every other sphere. It, and through it general conduct, Socialism will modify more than any other moral phenomenon.

## THE ULTIMATE MORALITY.

In conclusion, then, just a few words on the moral ideal, which a brief historical sketch will enable us more fully to understand. There are practically two moral philosophies extant today. Religious Morality, which views the individual's connection with society as accidental and places his moral ideal hereafter and in another world. It apotheosises the soul and individual virtues, purity, holiness, truthfulnes, honesty. Next there is the utilitarian morality which apotheosises self-interest and finds the moral ideal and the motive of all conduct in self-interest for the rich, and in "enlightened" self-interest for the poor. Both these philosophies put self-interest in antagonism to social interest.

In ancient society, on the other hand, the whole significance of the individual was



merged in the tribe of which he was a member. Though he acted on this assumption of the all-importance of the tribe, he was quite unconscious of it. But when property (the historical function of private property has been (1) the break-up of society into its ultimate units, and (2) of these units into mere fractions of men), supplants blood as the social nexus, and man, by its possession, becomes conscious of interests apart from society, an individualistic introspective and self-conscious morality supplants the primitive ethical social sentiment. The history of civilisation is the history of the breaking-up (theoretically only, of course) of society into its ultimate units, whose importance and worth consist, not in their own merits, but in the amount of their property. Traces of the old social morality lingered till the end of feudal ages in Western Europe, but very soon after the rise of capitalism, which completed the disintegration, a reintegration began. Just at the moment when property had separated every man as far as possible from his neighbour and had erected his self-interest either here or hereafter into the end of life —the economic conditions compelled the first move forwards to a new and nobler solidarity. Trades Unions sprang up. The individual's interests were consciously merged in the productive group, of which he was a member. Common labor rather than common blood or property was thence onwards to be the social bond. Social evolution means the reabsorption of the isolated or disintegrated units into ever enlarging groups for the furthering of their com-

mon interests. First the craft union, then the Federation of Trades Unions. The Labor Party Congress, the Workingclass, or Socialist Party, and, finally, when that class is triumphant, the Socialist Society. Thus Socialism to-day identifies self-interest with interest of the oppressed class struggling for freedom. Ultimately it will identify self-interest with that of the Classless Society, which Socialism will establish. This then is the Socialist moral Ideal with which we must use all our efforts to inspire the masses. First, we hold aloft the banner of the Social Revolution, and proclaim him truly and nobly moral who is ready to work and sacrifice himself for its success. And when the Socialist cause triumphs he will be acclaimed the moral man who gives ready and willing service to the Society of which he is a member. Instead of his instincts being directed within on his personal character they will be directed without on the social cause he has in view. Service and sacrifice are the ends of Socialist morality, but first for the oppressed class and ultimately for society as a whole, not merely for other individuals (which Religious Morality at its best achieves). To sum up. The primitive moral ideal was unconscious and social. The moral ideal of capitalism is conscious and unsocial. The moral ideal of Socialism is both conscious and social. For the Socialist, morality will be determined by the Socialist ideal. That is good which makes for it. That bad which hinders or retards it. True morality is thus self-development and self-sacrifice for the class now, and for the Socialist Society hereafter. It seems to me



that the inculcation and propaganda of this ideal are the only social means for inspiring the conduct that subserves it. Obviously capitalistic Educational institutions cannot be expected to preach and teach such an ideal, nor the conduct that promotes it. Happily the ideal once apprehended makes the appeal and secures the appropriate conduct more readily than any artificial moral stimuli could do. Because it is an integration of all social and human factors Socialism does not require one appeal to the Intellect, another to the Finer Feelings, and yet another to the Moral Sense. The Socialist philosophy when apprehended by the intellect satisfies the most exacting of our æsthetic feelings, and itself inspires our conduct for its realisation. The essence of the morals of Socialism may be summed up in two precepts: one positive, the other negative; and these we must inculcate with all the strength of reason and earnestness there is in us.

First—**"Thou shalt not scab"**;

Second—**"Thou shalt ever and faithfully serve."**

Thus whilst Socialism makes certain definite suggestions relative to Intellectual and Aesthetic Education, it looks on the Socialist ideal as itself sufficient to inspire the appropriate conduct in those who consciously accept it, and the history of the Socialist movement justifies this confidence.

## IN RELATION TO SPECIAL PRECEPTS.

In so far as special precepts are to be taught, such as temperance, truthfulness, honesty, etc., these must be inculcated, not

as bald precepts or commands, but in association with their natural consequences, which if wisely and vividly presented become motives for or against the particular actions as may be desired. As already said, wise or effective punishment consists in letting the natural reaction follow the wrong conduct. So, wise moral instruction consists in strongly impressing the mind with these natural and inevitable consequences in advance. The necessity for Moral Education to-day is largely due to the disintegration of Society, which capitalism implies—to the unnatural isolation of man from his fellows—to self-consciousness of sin—i.e., of anti-social action prompted by and abetting self-interest. The original and natural method was to further self-interest through co-operation with others. Man emerging out of the natural environment of brotherhood and mutual aid in which he toiled the weary path of progress which led him to the dawn of civilisation, is troubled and perplexed by the strife and turmoil of the new social arrangements based on private property and competition instead of on blood and co-operation. Used hitherto to mutual support from his fellows, he now finds them antagonistic. He looks into his own soul and cudgels his brain in a vain endeavour to find what is "right" to do, he seeks a conciliation of self-interest with social interests. Such is the problem of moral "philosophy" (so called). Some find the answer, as we previously remarked, in enlightened self-interest here, others in a world beyond; few perceiving the very existence of the problem to be due to eco-



nomic conditions, and finally solvable only by a revolution therein.

## SOCIALISM THE ANSWER.

Moral philosophy and Moral Education will be much less necessary under Socialism, for it will then be much more natural and much more to the individual self-interest to do "right." The conflict of interests abolished, the motive to anti-social (i.e., wrong) action will vanish. Socialism, in fact, is the natural life for men and all conduct therein will be natural (because promoting self-interest) and right (because also, and at the same time, promoting social interest). Thus to a great extent those present perplexing problems of duty, right, justice, etc., will disappear under Socialism.

---

FOOTNOTE TO PAGE 23.

*But more important still, art will become a mean of social rather than of merely individual expression. And, as will be shown in a later pamphlet on "Socialism and Art," it is when socially inspired or motived that art has always reached the highest levels of excellence.

It's in

# "Ross's"

*Monthly of Protest, Personality and Progress*

If it's worth while in Socialism, Rationalism and Radical Thought

Send 6d. for Sample Copy to
"ROSS'S," 184 EXHIBITION ST., MELBOURNE

## "Ross's" Book Service

*for Pamphlets and Books on Russia, Social Questions, Science and Materialist Philosophy—or anything else for that matter.*

Mail Orders a Speciality. A Trial Invited.

# BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON
# RUSSIA AND BOLSHEVISM

**Obtainable from ROSS'S BOOK SERVICE, 184 Exhibition St., Melb.**

| | Price. | Posted. |
|---|---|---|
| **SOVIET LAWS** ... ... ... ... ... | 3d. | 4d. |
| **A REPLY TO PRESS LIES,** by ARTHUR RANSOME and J. REED | 3d. | 4d. |
| **BOLSHEVISM,** by MAURICE BLACKBURN... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 3d. | 4d. |
| **SOVIET RUSSIA,** by A. RHYS WILLIAMS ... ... ... ... ... | 6d. | 7d. |
| **WHAT IS RUSSIA,** by PETER SIMONOFF ... ... ... ... ... | 2/- | 2/2 |
| **RED EUROPE,** by FRANK ANSTEY, M.H.R. ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2/6 | 2/8 |
| **SIX WEEKS IN RUSSIA,** by ARTHUR RANSOME... ... ... ... ... ... | 3/6 | 3/9 |
| **LENIN,** by COLONEL RAYMOND ROBINS ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6d. | 7d. |
| **A PLEA FOR RUSSIA,** by UPTON SINCLAIR ... ... ... ... ... ... | 3d. | 4d. |
| **THE NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONALE** ... ... ... | 3d. | 4d. |
| **THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,** by KARL RADEK ... ... ... ... ... | 6d. | 7d. |
| **REPORT OF BULLITT MISSION** VERY LATEST. | 6d. | 7d. |
| **INSIDE SOVIET RUSSIA** (only French view in our language) by CAPTAIN SADOUL ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6d. | 7d. |
| **RED RUSSIA IN 1920,** by G. LANSBURY | 6d. | 7d. |
| **REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND AUSTRALIA** by R. S. ROSS ... ... ... ... | 1/- | 1/2 |

Every single one of the above will be found of exceptional interest and value. The whole enable the reader to form a fairly accurate estimate of not only the Russian Revolution itself, but of the events which followed, as well as the present situation of the Bolshevik administration.

76253

END OF
TITLE